

Britain's "Political" Prisoners
Women Alert in Kansas

Letters to the Tribune's Editor

I wholly disapprove of what you say and will defend to the death your right to say it.—Voltaire to Helvetius.

More of Prohibition
West Virginia

"West Virginia's Trouble"

Admiral Staunton on the Paramount Right of Self-Protection When State Agencies Fail

To the Editor of The Tribune.

Sir: I have read with surprise and displeasure your editorial in to-day's issue under the title "West Virginia's Trouble."

I do not find in The Tribune's report of the proceedings at Charleston on the 28th anything which justifies your statement that Governor Morgan made the "admission" that a "private government" exists in the state. As reported in "The Washington Post" of the 29th Governor Morgan said that the state had no National Guard, that its department of public safety, the state police, was inadequate and that it would be useless for him to reconvene the Legislature, as the unions had requested, as it was certain it would refuse to abolish the private guard system, to which the Republican Legislature was admittedly pledged, until the state was prepared to guard lives and property by some other means. This probably states the situation fairly and as the people of West Virginia see it.

The right of self-protection, of protection of life and property is paramount and is never "treson" as The Tribune would have it in this case. It is indisputable that it is far preferable that all protection of life and property, the arrest and punishment of all violators of law, should be in the hands of regularly chosen and state paid public employees. But if this cannot be done or is not done, the right of self-protection remains. It is a fundamental right which is yielded when state agencies supervene and is properly resumed when state agencies fail.

The man living in a remote place with no constable at hand has, if his person or property be threatened with violence, the right to arm himself and repel the intruding criminal. He has the right to arm his employee for the same purpose. If mining coal and still lacking protection, he has the right to employ guards and arm them. That this condition, especially if on a large scale, may lead to abuses, is evident; but these abuses at their worst are probably less injurious to the moral and economic future of the state than those which the mine guards are organized to prevent.

The intent to invade the non-union districts and compel the formation of unions by force is nothing new in West Virginia. Two years or more ago the unions assembled several thousand armed men at or near Charleston, the capital, with the avowed intention of marching into the non-union counties and compelling the miners there to organize. Governor Cornwell, a resolute and fearless man, told them that if they did not disperse within a stated time he would telegraph for United States troops. They dispersed.

These men were not working in the non-union counties. They were living and working in other counties, mainly in Kanawha and Fayette, at some distance from Logan and Mingo. They were not attacked or menaced in any way by the armed guards in Logan and Mingo. They organized to attack the lives, property and liberties protected by those guards, and this movement was formulated and declared long before Governor Morgan was elected, and has been hanging over the state for several years. It did not await Governor Morgan's decision not to reconvene the Legislature.

The Tribune calls self-protection "treson" and the armed body of miners whose assault on life and property renders this protection necessary a "posse comitatus" that is, a body of citizens enforcing the law. The latest testimony at Charleston is to the effect that the definite objective of a certain group of the union miners was to kill Don Chafin, the sheriff of Logan County. Probably The Tribune will admit that the sheriff of a county is a "duly elected responsible public agent," and that it is at least irregular for a "posse comitatus" to make one of its principal objectives the slaying of an official of the government whose authority alone can give it power to legally act.

The situation in which West Virginia finds herself of being unable with state agencies to protect life, liberty and property is one which in the

history of America has had many parallels. Nor is it remarkable that the changes in the constitution of society, the recasting of groups and the class consciousness resulting from a rapidly expanding industrial organization should outrun the increase in governmental agencies and methods for preserving the personal rights of the old social order from perils which have their origin in the new.

The Tribune says that what West Virginia apparently needs is "a re-establishment of old-fashioned American law." So far good, but the statement needs expansion. What West Virginia and other industrial states need besides is a definite re-establishment of the respect for the old-fashioned American legal rights of life, liberty and property and the suppression of assaults upon these rights—otherwise we drift toward Bolshevism. And the maintenance of these rights includes not only those of the employers of non-union labor, but more especially those of non-union laborers themselves.

To work as they please, to make contracts as they please and to join the unions or not as they please. These are the men whom society should most particularly and scrupulously protect.

S. A. STAUNTON,
Rear Admiral U. S. N. (retired).
Washington, D. C., April 30, 1922.

Britain, Too, "Persecutes"

Sidelights on General Amnesty Propaganda—Speech in Hyde Park No Freer Than Here

To the Editor of The Tribune.

Sir: Apropos of the recent pilgrimage to Washington, via New York and Philadelphia, of the wives and children of so-called "political" prisoners, with, of course, all the spectacular "trimmings" that could be devised by the resourceful Reds who brought them across the continent, it might be well to call attention to a few discrepancies in their propaganda.

Much is made of the claim that this is the only country which after the armistice continued its "persecution" of "those splendid souls" who had the courage to "fight against the infamies of war" and whose only crime was that of expressing their "conscientious objection" to personal participation in said "infamies"! It will be recalled that during the Washington Conference on Limitation of Armament men and women paraded up and down in front of the conference hall with placards depicting the "shame of America" in this matter and calling upon the foreign delegates to advise "Uncle Sam" to open wide the prison doors.

To some of us who were beginning to think that our country was becoming more heartless than, say, England, it was quite reassuring to find in "The New York Call" of January 16, 1922, the following headline over a cablegram from London:

DEBS'S RELEASE USED TO SHAME BRITISH OFFICIALS!

"London Herald" Calls for General Christmas Amnesty for Persons Jailed for Opinions Under Emergency Powers Act!

"The Call's" introduction to the cablegram explains:

"The release of Eugene Victor Debs and several other political prisoners in the United States is being used by the labor movement there in an attempt to shame the British government into a general amnesty of all political prisoners since the end of the war. Hailing what they call the 'Christmas spirit' that animated President Harding in his commutation of sentence of the great Socialist, the labor forces are hammering at their own government to get all the men and women in jail for opinion's sake released."

The cablegram gives "The London Herald" article from which I have culled a few choice paragraphs that rather spoil the picture and suggest

Stand With France

Against the Compromisers Who Favor Germany and Russia

To the Editor of The Tribune.

Sir: Your editorials and the letters from Charles Stewart Davidson and others of his type are a joy to men like myself, weary of the proposals on every hand to compromise with Soviet Russia. More power to Secretary Hughes and The New York Tribune and to men and papers of like mind!

Hurrah for Poincaré! I said this when he came to power, and I say it now when his back and that of France are against the wall. Do all these compromisers realize that every favor they give to Germany and Russia they take from France? Do they know that every reduction in reparations they seek simply increases the amount for reconstruction France must herself unjustly pay?

France pays more than three times the tax rates Germany pays and yet how many of our papers demand a reduction of reparations. Lips sealed while we were at war are now using the press to advance Germany's cause. They protest in one breath Germany's inability and in the next protest against French imperialism.

Those unwilling to stand firmly by America's part in the war seek to isolate France. To my mind the rights of the world depends on our firm determination to stand with France for the enforcement of the Versailles Treaty. CHARLES S. HARTWELL,
Brooklyn, May 3, 1922.

On "Putting Over" Prohibition

Rejoinder to Mr. Maxim's Letter on What Happened While Our Soldiers Were in France

To the Editor of The Tribune.

Sir: Hudson Maxim's pen was drawn in defense of human liberty rather late in the day. The liquor traffic furnished the most outstanding example in history of disregard for human rights. In all the years this was going on Mr. Maxim was not heard from on the subject.

Mr. Maxim's lamentation over the doleful state of the man deprived of wine and beer is pure bunk. We find no nation with wine and beer to a marked degree longer-lived, healthier, and stronger than those without. Mr. Maxim produces no instances of men driven insane by the lack of wine and beer or of homes the state has had to build for children born feeble-minded because the parents did not have wine and beer.

It is very true that if society could have been protected from the evils of strong drink and at the same time the drinker caused to suffer no inconvenience whatever it would have been done. But the drinkers of wine and beer did not help to solve this problem. The effort to reconcile conflicting interests, to preserve both the rights of society and the wishes of the drinker, was carried on solely, for a thousand years past, by the prohibitionists and those of whom they are the heirs, administrators and assigns. The drinking element during all that time did its best to foil, and did foil, every effort so to regulate and restrict the drink business that it might be preserved and society also be preserved.

Mr. Maxim calls attention to the "fact" that prohibition was put over on us while the young men of military age were in France, and it is well. But he might have told us how, forty years ago, the designing and unscrupulous W. C. T. U. bundled all the young men off to France and while they were gone most flagrant put into the schools the books in which pupils are taught that alcohol, in large quantities or in small, is a poison—always, everywhere, a poison. He was guilty of grave neglect in that he permitted all American young men to be kept in France for the past generation while thirty-four states were enacting prohibition laws and 69 per cent of the rest of the country was going under no-license by direct vote of the people. He is in part to blame that the American Legion boys were detained in France for the last thirty years while the Supreme Court of the United States was putting over on us an unbroken line of decisions that prohibition is a proper exercise of the law-making power and does not infringe upon personal liberty.

It was a grave dereliction on his part to permit the soldiers of Michigan to be absent in France when that state voted down wine and beer by 208,620 in 1916 after having adopted prohibition in 1916 by only 68,625. He should have secured a stay of proceedings in his own State of New Jersey to enable the soldiers to get home from Flanders and prevent the New Jersey Legislature from ratifying the Eighteenth Amendment a few weeks ago. He should hurry the soldiers of Pennsylvania home from Belgium, as we have a primary election campaign on just now and the candidates for gubernatorial honors are vying with each other in protestations of loyalty to prohibition. It is time he woke up and got those American soldiers home from Europe, in view of the way things have been going for the last seventy years in their absence.

I am aware that during that seventy

years we were constantly "under intense excitement" attendant upon the World War of 1914-18.

Mr. Maxim departs once from his usual fairness in his letters to The Tribune. He says "laws have been passed denying trial by jury." Rather should he have said one law, in his own State of New Jersey, and added that the state Supreme Court promptly annulled it. I challenge Mr. Maxim to instance one transgression of human rights by prohibition that will begin to compare with the countless beatings, robberies and killings that have been inflicted upon women and children by that liquor traffic which society is now trying to prohibit after a thousand years of failure to regulate it.

ORRIN H. GRAHAM,
Franklin, Pa., May 1, 1922.

years we were constantly "under intense excitement" attendant upon the World War of 1914-18.

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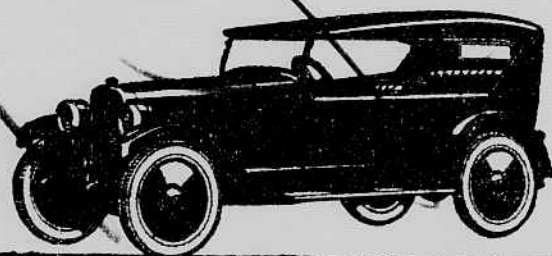
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Kansas Women in Politics

"Always on the Job" as Voters and as Officeholders, Is the Good Word From Topeka

To the Editor of The Tribune.

Sir: I was very much interested in an article in The Tribune last week purporting to give some of the results of woman suffrage in the country during the last twenty months. After reading the story with some care I was struck by the fact that the writer lacked a great deal of information regarding the activities of women in politics in the Middle West and in Kansas in particular.

There are three members of the Kansas Legislature who are women. One is now serving her second term and all are candidates and probably will be elected again this year. Mrs. Minnie J. Grinstead was elected four years ago and returned to the Legislature in the last election by a larger majority than in her first campaign. There likely will be six or eight women in the next session of the Kansas Legislature. Their service has been extremely satisfactory to themselves and to the general public, and they have voiced no complaint of lack of attention or consideration by the male members of the Legislature.

I note that your writer said that no woman member of a Legislature had ever been re-elected. Kansas has one, at least, and it has a woman elected to a state office two successive terms and is a candidate for a third term.

Over 80 per cent of the county superintendents of Kansas are women. Nearly one-half of the other county

officers, except sheriffs and court commissioners, are women in this state. Kansas has had one woman coroner. It has one woman who served a full term as probate judge, and has had seven women probate judges in the last ten years, many of them elected to that position. Over thirty years ago Kansas had a woman mayor, and has had about it. Even before suffrage was extended to women either in the state or under the Nineteenth Amendment, women could and did hold office in Kansas.

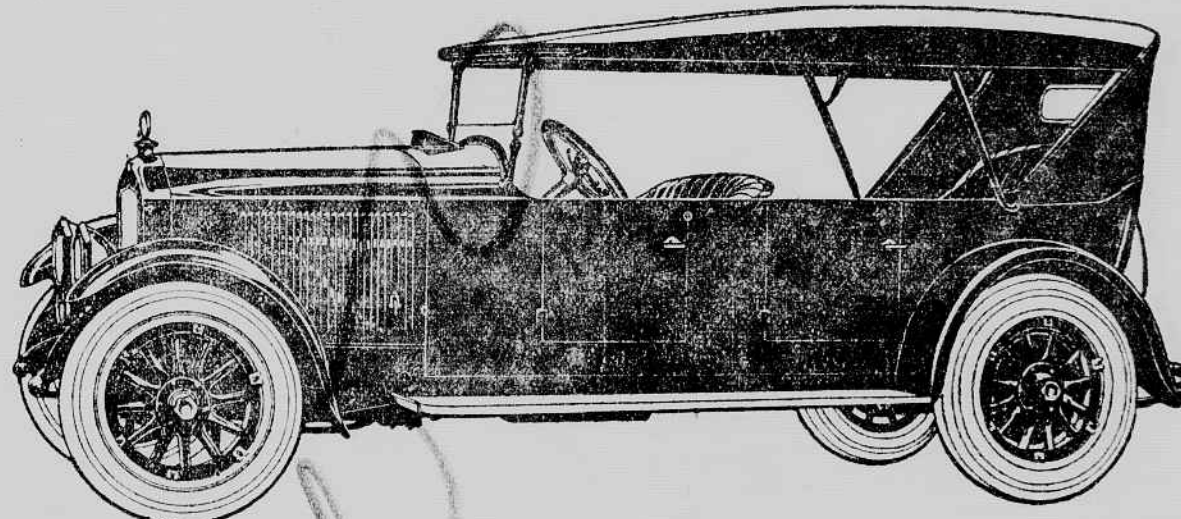
Ever since Kansas became a state women have been eligible to hold any office from Governor down. Even before suffrage was extended to women for state offices the women of Kansas took an extremely active part in all political affairs, local and state, and it is doubtful whether they are taking any greater interest, more than to vote, than has been the case for twenty years or more. There has been a political convention in many years which women did not attend and in which they did not have a more or less active part.

Kansas women have been educated in politics, and they are always on the job.

Please, Mr. Editor, don't ever accuse Kansas women of not realizing their full rights and responsibilities as citizens of the country and their state.

CLYDE M. REED,
Topeka, Kan., May 3, 1922.

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